/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done
in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the
swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been
described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation
of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
773 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious cere-
mony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different
groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
775 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods
worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung,
Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military
group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan,
Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial
representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian
group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng
Ti Szu
Younger sister Fu-ch'i
Ching Chu

Chiu Kuan
Kung Huang
An-t'an Ch'uan
Yü Huang
Chia Hsien

Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Chia Kuan
Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

779 /55/

776 San Tsu
Tou-fu San Kuan
Wu-shang-hui
Hsi-tao wu-shang
Shih-erh Shang-ping /The twelve wounded soldiers/
P'in-pu-chi
Hao Kung-Chi /The good cock/
Shih-wu Shang Kung-chi /The fifteen injured cocks/
Shang-yüan-p'ou-hsiang
Chung-yüan Lo-p'a
Hsia-yüan Lo-p'a
Shih Kung-tsao /The four clerical officers/
Chao Shuai /General Chao/
Ma Shuai /General Ma/
Teng Shuai /General Teng/

776 As to which gods belong to the military group and which ones to the civilian group, I do not know. Each god seems to preside over a particular business. Their different duties are clearly divided. [532] Hence during the tso-chai ceremony, they only hung up ten or more pictures of gods who are in charge of the business of this particular ceremony. Because the pictorial representation and the duties of each god differ, the texts for each also are different. To save space in this book, I have merely copied the text of the Chiu-niang /the 779 ninth lady/ section which is as follows:

539 You, drummer, beat the drum of yang-shou;
Beat again the drum of chao-yang.
Hearing the tunes of the drum turned to yang,
Chiu-niang, highly praised, dismounted from her horse.
This morning you were in the temple of Fa-t'an.
The kung-tsao officer was ordered to bring you the invitation.
After you received the invitation from the kung-tsao,
The precious horses were prepared for you to go to the place of ceremony.
You dismounted in front of the altar,
And were welcomed to the ceremony, enjoying the burning incense.

/66 cont'd/

775 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
773 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society.
Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest
has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education,
and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
554 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with
it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families,
except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation
ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for
the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious
the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them
for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the
dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed
this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo."
Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance
here, which is worth noting. /68/

/12 cont./

*101 ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained
*175 that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh
and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third
173 son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice
[776] to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the
spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu
also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan
/History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was
first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large
bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard
someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo,
she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him.
When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established
himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as
his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor
Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-
kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The
Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him.
The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had
not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him,
asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of
Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed
his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was
[776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the
third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yeh-lang
Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based
*101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly.
*175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians,
but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang.
Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during
the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/
"Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u
(Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched
General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the
Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang,

/13 cont./

*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

[113] 1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who
[291] wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical.

*175 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai
776 Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit
[778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang
[346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

/13 cont//
*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in
776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the
[346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in
/14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien
Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/.
Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the
deductions reached in the *Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih* are not without
basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and
*175 meaning of /ko˧ ɕioŋ˥˧/, a name which the Hung Miao give
themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the
Bamboo King. Also, because the *Hou Han Shu* states that the
Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce
that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the
descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the
Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot
say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data
become available in the future.

/15/

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern
provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula,
thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density
[161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in
Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the
173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas
167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason
Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of
the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the
*[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

+M 101 /20 cont./
cc in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[533] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
[584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
into a knot.

[167] /21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
M numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
[291] with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

/96 cont./

585 The bride arriving here brings
782 Great luck and great prosperity.
539 The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
●[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the
male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " "
female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest
has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads
the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits
down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started.
The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire
would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement back-
ward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement
then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside
or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated
she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao
grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written
and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After
washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/127 cont./

121 771 Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

114 771 According to the report of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept 771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been 177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices. Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

●776 771 177 182 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese, "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/. All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have supernatural powers; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits, or gods, they are all called "kuei," /kueŋ/ in the Miao language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/127 cont./
776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
* [782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and
kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good
and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven /ta˥ pia˧˩/. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell,
but they believe that under the earth there lives a different
kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little
finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul /pien˧˩/ and a body /ko˧˥ tɕʻieŋ˧˩/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine,
[753] then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei.
When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized
by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[761] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for
him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into
a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil
kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either
immediately reborn into another state of existence and come
back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "/pɛ˧˩ tsʻə˧˩/"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the
most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their
controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei /kueŋ˧˩
[824] ɕo˧˥/ and trees, tree kuei /kueŋ˧˩ ndu˥˧/. When there is a
* [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,
000

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

123 The best way to understand the religion of a people is to participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

● 776
* 782 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

769 /131 cont./

[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:

769 *782 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among [illegible]. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death [777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 [769] [776] [796] "Eating pigs" is called /kueŋ˥ mbaʌ/ in the Miao language, which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial ceremony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14
strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each.
The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the
mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function
beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal
uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the
ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they
call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the
middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and
five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up
beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot.
[988] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers,
next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong
and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts
are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part
[769] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the
[776] house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance.
On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket
is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice
shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh.
There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number
of slices of cut-up beef. [illegible] beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest
only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is
very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao super-
[263] stition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

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1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." [1A]

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

[1A] [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/135 cont./

*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an in-
[787] cantation and divines with the chiao and sends off the kuei. This
[776] is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a
[292] tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

[531] 1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine shan wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside
[292] the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a
[482] bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

/135 cont/

*782 [776] Wielding a wooden rod, he utters an incantation, telling of the source of the kuei of pigs. After the incantation he goes directly into the house and partakes of the wine and meat on the bench.

The twelfth part is performed late at night or in the fourth or fifth watch. The long door boards are put up as a table. /Illus. 61 appears on p. 136/ /137/ The two pairs of pigs from the Five-Flower pillars, which have been killed, cut up, and washed clean, are put on the table with the heads of the pigs facing the interior of the house. On the table are further laid out wine, meat, and sweet wine, nine bowls each, as well as a bowl of sour soup and a bowl of tea. There are also 12 bowls of cooked rice, on each of which is placed a string of lean and fat pork. The upper millstone, incense, rice /uncooked/ and li-shih are also there. There is no blowing and beating of instruments, only the sorcerer-priest's soft-voiced, gentle petition.

On the fourth day the thirteenth and the fourteenth parts are performed. The thirteenth takes place when the cock crows in the fifth watch. A member of the lower generation with a felt [292] rug thrown over his body and a straw hat on his head holds an ox horn containing wine in his left hand and a knife in his right hand, as well as grasping a string of seven slices of pork. He walks to a river bank or a well. He empties the wine from the horn and puts in clear water. While returning, he eats the seven slices of meat. Arriving at the gate, he imitates the crowing of the cock. After entering the house he sits down. On the table is laid a tray on which are set three cups of wine and three slices of meat. Under the tray is a jar, into which the water is emptied from the horn. The sorcerer-priest strikes the drum and utters an incantation. After the incantation the water carrier runs out the door, while the host throws ashes from used firewood on his body.

The fourteenth part is to send the kuei away and is performed in the early morning. The pigs' heads are cooked and cut into small slices or chunks, and are distributed in three trays, on each of which are placed three cups of wine. One tray is put at the foot of the middle pillar in the main house; one tray is placed on the floor of the front-half side room; and one

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*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 *782 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [p[illegible]˥˩ mb[illegible]˨˩ ʂioŋ˥˧], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the [602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be [777] avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There ● [776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [n[illegible]˥ nɛ˨˩ tso[illegible]˥˩ teŋ˥˧], n[illegible]ŋ˨˦ m[illegible]˥˩ bu˨˦ ɲieŋ˨˩], tsoŋ˨˩ teŋ˨˩ tsoŋ˥˩ pieŋ˥˧], [bu˨˦ ɲieŋ˨˩ tsei˥˩ nɛ˨˩], (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

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755 *782 [779] the ancestors). [bu˩ naŋ˩ tʂoŋ˥˩ lia˥˩], [a˥˩ naŋ˩ tsoŋ˧ kaɤ˥˩], (this is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tʂoŋ˧ meŋ˧ t'ɛ˥˩ ɕio˥], [tʂoŋ˥˩ toŋ˥˩ t'ɛ˥˩ lia˥˩], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests). The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

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755 are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come
*782 to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly." (He
●[776] utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

> /140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

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755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then
[787] the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host ~~kills the~~ two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kueŋ ɲieɬ/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
842 ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[787] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
[776] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to
[231] send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

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*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-
bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once
more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the
guests are leaving. Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each
[574] receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of
the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two
chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the
host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

155 Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other
*782 place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao con-
774 sider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-
priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called /lio˥
[753] kueŋ˥/, originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei in-
● [776] voked are called /naŋ˧ nɐ˩ lio˥ u˧/ and /naŋ˧ mɐ˩ lio˥ tɛ˥/.
The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

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(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple [753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con- [776] sidered that the /naŋ˥ ŋuei˦ pi˨nu˦/ and /naŋ˦ nu˦ pi˧ ʂɛ˥/ are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /pa˥˧ pi˧ nu˦/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called /ta˨ tɕ'io˩ t'a˧ lieŋ˦/ in the Miao 787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate [825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then [791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/. *782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

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*782 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in Miao called [ʑɑ˨ piɑ˥˧]. There are four kuei invoked: [nɑŋ˨ nɛ˩ kueŋ˥˧ tio˧˥], [nɑŋ˨ mɑ˧˥ kueŋ˥˨ lieŋ˧˥], [kueŋ˥˧ bu˨ kueŋ˥˧ teŋ˥˨], and [kueŋ˥˧ zoŋ˨ kueŋ˥˧ piɑ˥˨]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front of the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

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> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the

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*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please set them right. These are the strange occurrences caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore went to the diviner. It was found that no other kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

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*782 [776] kuei were eating food and seeking sacrifices from people. A vow was made on a selected auspicious day. After the vow everything became peaceful. After a few days the host accumulated a sum of money. Wherever an ox was killed today up and down the village, with the money he bought some beef and returned home. On reaching home he sent for the sorcerer-priest. The sorcerer-priest has summoned his soldiers and horses and patron saints to come to this house. The wax is lit; the hand bell is ringing; the table has been set up and spread with fine bowls; the paper banners have been stuck up in the place; the flag poles have been erected, with paper streamers flying; a chicken has been killed, and everything is set."

*782 787 After the above incantation is over, the priest tosses the chiao-tzu beside him on the ground. He studies the chiao-tzu to divine whether the kuei have come down. The yin and yang chiao indicate that the kuei still have not come down. It is necessary to get the sheng chiao, for then the kuei have come down. If the kuei have not yet descended, it is necessary to invoke them again.

*782 /147/ The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube [paɛ˥ ɕioŋ˥ doŋ˥]. When this part is performed, the various arrangements outside the entrance are not moved, except that the bowl of wax is moved inside the entrance to the righthand corner, and the bamboo tube is placed on the ground behind the bowl of wax. The Miao sorcerer sits on a stool behind the bamboo tube. He beats it with his right hand while he utters an incantation. Each beat punctuates two words (Illus. 65). The general purport of the words are as below:

"The host has asked me today to come to perform the Ta Kan Lo, entirely of his own voluntary wish, without compulsion from anyone. The sun dragon and the moon dragon in the skies, the water dragon in the fields. I wear three steel helmets, iron shoes,

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*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the [787] yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange
824 noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near
[776] the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [naŋ˩˦ ŋuei˦ tʻoŋ˥˩ ndu˨˦] and [naŋ˩˦ nu˥˧ tʻoŋ˥˩ ɬho˥˩] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi˥˩ ndu˨˦]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

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*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the house in Miao is called [ndzə˨ pəɤ˦˧]. The two kuei invoked are ● [776] [dei˧˥ ʻəɤ˥˩ noŋ˥˩ dɛ˧] and [dei˧˥ ɪɑ˥˧ noŋ˥˩ qa˩˥]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

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*782 [t[illegible] [illegible] -maŋ˧]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kueŋ˥ maŋ˦
783 jeŋ˨ ʑiaŋ˧] and [kueŋ˥ maŋ˦ jeŋ˨ ɕiaŋ˥]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are
● [776] placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows.
The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782, When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [ʑiŋ˥ tɕ˦
[778] nʑieŋ˥]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[776] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

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1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

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*782 627 to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

[825] Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [naŋ˦ nɛ˧˥ [776] ʐi˧˩˧ bu˧˥] and [naŋ˦ ma˦ ʐi˥˧ teŋ˦]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. [825] Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

[825] Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

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(12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they [765] perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [tsʻə˥ miɐ˧], with the meaning "to cause ● [776] a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [lio˧˥ təŋ˥ kueŋ˥˩ dzaɤ˨] and [lio˧˥ ȵʻi˦ kueŋ˥ də˨]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

/155 cont./

775 *782

> life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

> "Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

243 *782 [231] [774] Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [liɑ˧ noŋ˦]. The kuei invoked are called [mpʻa˦ no˦ kueŋ˧ miŋ˦] and [ȵi˦ no˧ kueŋ˧ noŋ˦]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

> "The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/157 cont./

*782 [292] [843] his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accompanying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back.. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests [788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 777 731 [776] Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʈiɣ˦ ɕio˧ ba˨ loŋ˨ ɲie˨]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss, they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'ə˦ tɕu˧ lio˧ tθɣ˥] and [ɲi˦ tsu˧ lio˧ ntɕ'i˧]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar, On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/158 cont./
ooo After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 791 778 [787] In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines, generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He *[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his shrine. (Illus. 68).

*782 [776] 825 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts. Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity. The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest. Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand [787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection [776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant [753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices [755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation [787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and [787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

*782 In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar 784 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are [776] days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont./

*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacri-
784 ficial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
776 taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
627 repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
778 which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
627 asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before
the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints,
secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
731 times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
755 rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
691 an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece
of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned.
The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the pro-
tection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or
both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, de-
pending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial
condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house
to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
691 time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
731 is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things
755 promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the re-
sults shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled,
but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there
are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-
chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the
Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

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773 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third
●776

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a
776 strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is
considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending
[753] disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will
[731] occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of
a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a
[372] meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen.
[821] If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice
to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/163 cont. /

*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.

● [779] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts [787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five [779] [751] [231] [243] [731] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not increasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/164 cont./

*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host
[785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to
● [776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting
[792] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

●[776] [554] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

/169 cont./

(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in
[776] a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of
[765] wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also
protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right
[556] of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed
seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense
are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt.
There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Be-
hind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of
silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu
in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the in-
cantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the
*[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he
pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After in-
viting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-
priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain
number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven
piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup
and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of
chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original posi-
tion and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After
*[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the in-
cantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for
[776] the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

/169 cont./

(9) The Kuei of the High Slope

*782
[731] This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the
●[776] prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace
of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The
[691] ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a
knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are
brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of
bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent
into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng
of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife,
seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted
pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked
rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest,
wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right
hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that
the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason
for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess
follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and
puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked
rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-
tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or
not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send
the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and
eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih,
[776] and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil
kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of
[755] sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

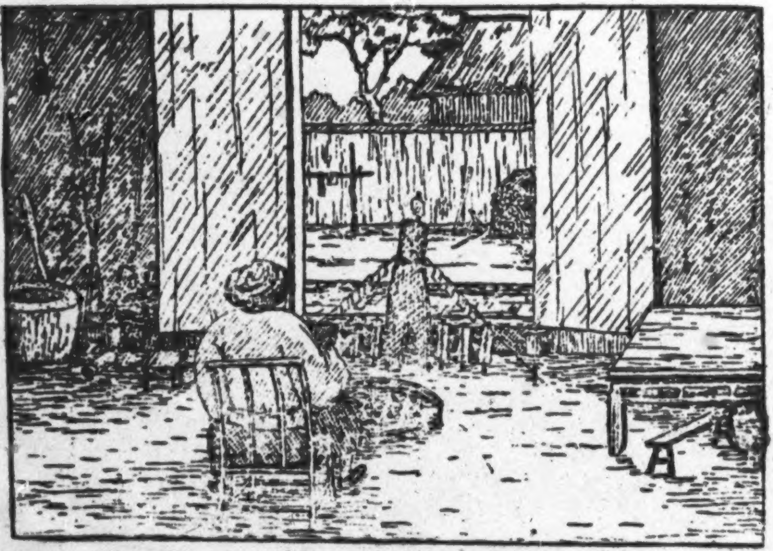
/171 cont./

*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation, *[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[691 776] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

[353] [352]



Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787]

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

[755] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness,
[776] or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make
them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei."
The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called
Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by
means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door
inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa,
five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans? /, a bowl of
water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is
also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three
sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth
painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed
in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes,
holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual
knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended.
If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion.
/172/ After further divination he threads a string through the
nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once
with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to
expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the
kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the
cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection
where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the
sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag
that he has brought along. He either returns home or goes to
the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung
outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./

* 782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
● [776] advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
[171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[576] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
[609] all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds
are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual
is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest,
wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right
hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine
and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the
* reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests
awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and dis-
tributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl
of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters
a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now
that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally
will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over,
the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come
to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper
to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the
house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If
one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe
from this kuei.

[821]
(16) The Wind Kuei

[774] If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better,
[755] it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./

*782 755 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock, a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/ on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with *[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the [776] [827] time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

/174 cont./

*782 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The
755 sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual
knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket.
*[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips
the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates
that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup
of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on
the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and
relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are
assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon
556 ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main
● [776] house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where
the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called
"Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his
chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore
in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the
center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it
*782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are
written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each; five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

● [776] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to *[787] invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

/176 cont./
*782 the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and
*[787] leading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /177/ sorcerer-priest follow-
ing, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neigh-
bors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper,
the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items
to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper
money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest.
The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into
the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

[755] The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or be-
[776] cause of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed
inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is
used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in
the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense;
five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The
sorcerer-priest ,wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu
in his right hand, utters and incantation. After he has divined
*[787] with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also
asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host
then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it
on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup.
After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he
sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again
takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together
with five bowls of cooked rice, eadh having a pair of chopsticks
stuck in it. The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

[1] [see category 116, P265- ANALYST]

/177 cont./

* 782 842 *[787] few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an incantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

•[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 *782 776 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The "Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

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175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is
776 uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the "Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang /'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

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[113] 1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao /The Study of No/, in Min Tsu, Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei." Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
[773] Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble, such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

[1] [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. — ANALYST]

/178 cont./

*782 place in the spring, when it is colloquially called a "peach blossom vow," but this is rare. /Illus. 75 appears between pp. 178-79./

/179/ To carry out the fulfilling of a vow to the No, it is necessary to invite a guest sorcerer. Relatives and fellow-villagers are also invited to come to the house. Before the date an altar is set up in the center of the main house, and on it are displayed the images of Duke No and Mother No (see Illus. 75). Behind the altar are pasted five colored portraits of the shen of the five sacred mountains. In front of the altar is a portal made of colored paper, called T'ao Yüan /"peach spring," i.e. Arcadia, from a Chinese legend/ cave. In front of the portal they also put up a hsi-kung. (1) The performance of the sorcerer, according to the investigation of the writers, consists of 30 parts, lasting from three to seven days. The following are brief accounts of each of these parts.

The first part is An Szu Ming "calming the god of the
kitchen." It is performed at dawn. The sorcerer-priest wears a
red kerchief around his head and holds a chiao-tzu. Standing
in front of a winnowing basket set in front of the Peach Spring
cave, he makes a low bow to the No shen with his hands in front,
and utters an incantation to ask his patron saint to possess his
*[787] body and to ask the ancestors of the host's family to come down.
On finishing his incantation, he picks up a bowl of water with
his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with
his right hand, as if writing, facing the bowl of water. At the
same time he also utters the incantation for cleansing the
[783] sacrificial objects. First he speaks of the origin of water; next
he flicks some drops of water on the offerings with his fingers.
[776] The Miao think that the Szu Ming shen abstains from meat,
wine, garlic, etc., and therefore the things have to be cleansed.
*[787] After the cleansing, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and stops if

1. See the layout for the first-grade sacrifice to the Kung-An shen.

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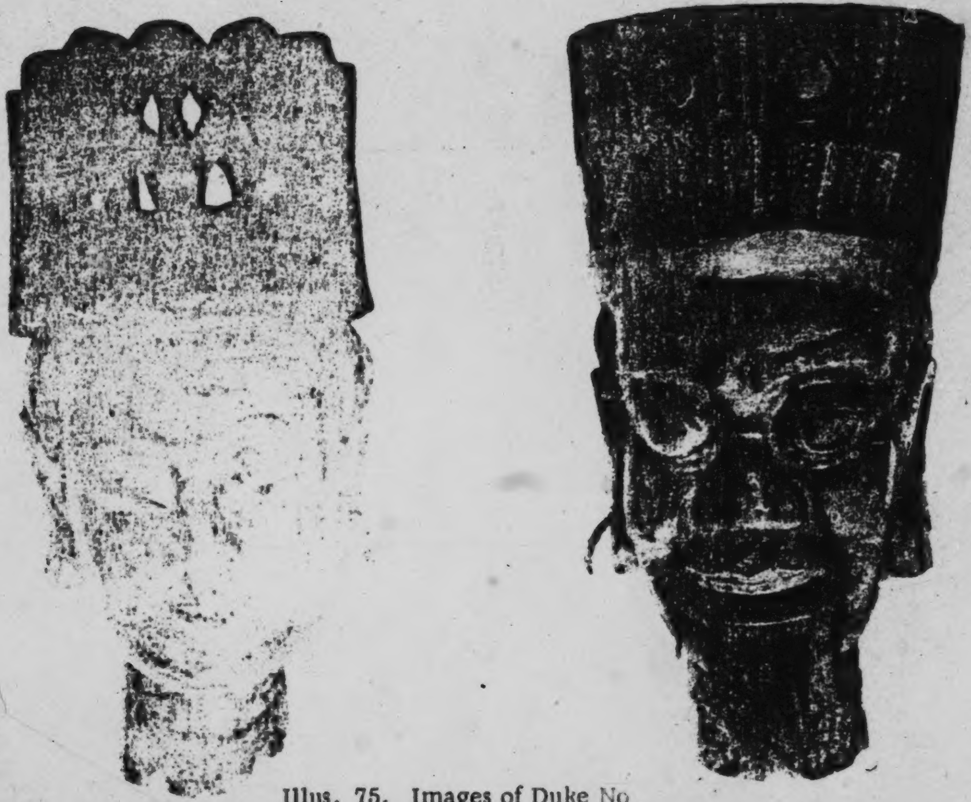
776
*782



Illus. 75. Images of Duke No and Mother No.

/183 cont./

*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle
in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the
k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick,
takes up two *hsien-feng* banners, blows the horn and waves the
banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and
the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words
invoking the shen before the Peach Spring. cave. After one
passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn,
and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are
silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing,
accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something
outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with
both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the
right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of
Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the
phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk;
facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates,
and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five direc-
tions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations
and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw
the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to
the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the
chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks
of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters
*[787] another incantation and divines with the *chiao*. When the *yin chiao*
appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The *yang chiao* indi-
cates Mother No has dismounted, and the *sheng chiao*, the dis-
● [776] mounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. Then he in-
vites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, fol-
lowing with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed
*782 only for a host without a son.) In front of the Peach Spring cave
842 is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or
green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest
wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the
willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

/185 cont./

*782 [787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part ^ is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113]

1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

^ [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

/187 cont./
*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last
he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred
kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena.
After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he
*782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says
*787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao
had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng
773 chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the
place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he
*782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The
helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/.
The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng
banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front
of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking
[776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing,
the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating
fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna-
[292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng
banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats
in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle,
singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall.
Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall,
and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then
he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids
the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements
of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the
gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several
steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the
handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the
Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the
[292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the
[533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

/191 cont./
*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving
the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao
Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the
basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in
front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the
opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the
two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the
wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket.
He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave,
and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing
basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in
front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his
hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation
is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer
box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the
*[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will
go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family
of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance
of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong
and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up.
The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes
the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in
money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer
takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the
pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12
bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes
the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging
*[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual
terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the
local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask
[532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's
cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then
[522] engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names
of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in
[776] humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

/192 cont./

+782 and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After
this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks
[776] the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their pro-
tection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling
incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-
yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual
terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating
a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and
on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There
are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful
of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the
[532] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the
head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his
left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit
tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing
out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the
house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks
[522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue;
he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship
of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are
sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with
his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the
left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the
table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men
and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to
drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times
while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the
table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is
[522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At
last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of
a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash
account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time
a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in
the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

/192 cont./
*782 on the page, singing: "The character huan is written thousands
of times, and of the character ch'ien /"due"/ not a fraction is
left." Every passage read in the account book is followed by
singing and acting. After this the sorcerer-priest burns a few
pieces of paper money, handing them to the helpers to be
burned in front of the door in order to send back the shen. This
being done, the sorcerer, holding the book in his left hand and
holding up the spear in his right hand, walks in a semicircle,
facing the door. He sings the farewell song to the shen, and
the ritual ends.

The thirtieth part is Chin Piao /"presenting spears"/. The
sorcerer, wearing the red garment and a red kerchief around
his head, topped with the ceremonial headgear, holds two
spears in his hands and walks in front of the door in a semicircle,
singing the magic words of Chin Piao. After singing a passage,
he walks into the house to stand before the Peach Spring cave
and recites another passage. He then burns one spear and sings
the magic words to invite the shen to receive the spear. After
*[787] the singing, he divines. The yang chiao indicates that Duke No
has received it, the yin chiao indicates that Mother No has
●[776] taken it. The sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen
has taken it. The other spear is stuck into the sheng of rice in
order to make a vow. Some more magic words about the spear
are said, while at the same time the sorcerer acts out the meaning
of the words. Then he utters the magic words of offering
wine before mounting a horse, and the host pours out wine from
the pot. After five cups have been poured, the sorcerer divines.
*[787] The yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan
chair; the yin chiao indicates that Duke No has mounted his
horse; and the sheng chiao indicates that the San-ch'ing shen
has mounted. The sorcerer sings as he divines, while the helpers
dismantle the set-up in the Peach Spring cave. When it is
divined that the No shen and the San-ch'ing all have mounted,
the sorcerer goes outdoors /193/ and jumps on his left foot as if
mounting a horse himself. After gesticulating with his hands
to indicate a large horse and a small horse, he sings out more

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is re-
ligion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work
of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to direct-
ly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether
it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician.
Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether
there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and
beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various
kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing
sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has
largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself
having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with
it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao
in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from
magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of
pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique,
and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan
has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists to-
day, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be
found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people
sick.

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan
/Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first
year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order
to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years
ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence.
Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao"
of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying:
"A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour
each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against
[671] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article
relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still
[683] secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou
t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku
[776] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They
let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are
let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents
[826] of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones,
skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they
consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers
[753] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will
swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him
to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul
[787] of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to
give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine."
If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It
is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is
necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny
shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be
buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under
a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this
earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner
of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth
the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The
poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

on a bench or on top of the cupboard), jars of rice wine, and a bean mill. On the walls hung scythes for cutting wood, carrying poles, carpenter's tools, a wicker basket of chopsticks, skeins and balls of hemp thread, small jars of oil, and sometimes a water pipe. Leaning against the wall were pipes with long bamboo stems, bundles of faggots and carrying poles with baskets on either end. In a well-to-do home pieces of meat hung from the rafters. Lamps were the ordinary pottery saucer with pith wicks and vegetable or t'ung oil fuel. They were suspended by a wire from the rafters or set on an iron stand. For lighting the way or borrowing fire thin pieces of wood tipped with sulfur, small bundles of straw, or a few strips of bamboo were used. Generally speaking, the objects found in these villages were not for comfort but rather for utility and convenience. 352

Every home had a shrine to "Heaven, earth, rulers, relatives, and scholars," which was merely the inscription in Chinese characters on red paper pasted up on the wall facing the door, with appropriate sentiments on other strips on either side. In some homes there was also a shelf the full width of the room — the main hall, if there was one — with these inscriptions above and holders for incense, candles and other objects for worship on it. After the old man in the family in which I lived died a square table was set up in one corner of the main room with cloth forming a third side. On the table were the ancestral tablet, figures and cones of mosaic, colored paper with pompoms of frilled paper on top, a support for incense sticks, and small dishes. Along the top and sides of the opening were inscriptions in Chinese. I saw this shrine, also, in two houses in Yang-niu-ts'un, while in a third home the open shelf above a cupboard was used for this purpose. Here the objects were an ancestral tablet, a lamp, a support for incense sticks, and a gong. At dusk, as in Chinese Buddhist homes, they set in new, lighted incense sticks and beat the gong several times. 352 776

This main hall was not lived in as much as other rooms of the house, but according to the season the large bamboo mats used on the threshing floor, bamboo baskets for grain, various implements — plows, harrows, grain- 352 412

778 788 two priests were not the same, but the chant was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

346 778 **Ritual Structures.** The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

776 **Deities.** Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

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[3] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken 796
up with new zeal, there being abroad a general 782
feeling of security.

As with all people of an early culture, rites half 776
religious, half magical, play no small part in the
daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons 755
are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe.

There is, however, another class of magician, 754
less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who
learned their trade since childhood. Among the
[212] Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such
spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese
characters as phonetic symbols and written down
as a scripture to be transmitted from master to
disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by
trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement
their income from remunerations gained
[753] from its practice. In case of sickness the
791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing
462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to
chase them away in order to cure the sick person.
Often she is invited to the house to do
her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the
Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from
her as to the best method of driving away
spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than
the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness
or in the performance of funeral rites the
man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief
in spirits is so strong that in case of
ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of
medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally
an old woman, and on arriving at the house
she is immediately possessed by the divinity she
has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the
identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the
means to be extricated from it. There are many
kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward
them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are
able to list the names of the spirits and their
antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied
755 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe,
when met on the road, would give serious
stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of
rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

paper money placed on a sieve, and to carry them outside the village gate to be discarded on the ground. Then the sick person will recover immediately.

2. The Shrinking Head Spirit. When one meets this spirit on a mountain slope, one acquires a terrible headache; the antidote is to throw a bowl of rice with water at the village gate.

3. The Wealth Wasting Hundred Blessing Spirit. This spirit when encountered causes a person to vomit; the antidote is the same as for the Shrinking Head Spirit.

4. The Nine Worms Spirit. When a man gets this spirit he would feel cold all over his body and would vomit. To cure this sickness one has to make an effigy of a worm with paper and rice straw and leave it at the intersection of three roads outside the village.

5. The Drowning Spirit. When one meets this spirit one gets a terrible stomach-ache. In order to get cured one takes a bowl of rice with water, plants a burning incense in it and leaves it on the road outside the village.

6. The Suspended Spirit. This spirit gives one pain in the heart and stomach; the cure for this sickness is the same as that for the shrinking head spirit.

7. The Wolf Dog Spirit. If one has a severe stomach-ache while working in the field, he must have encountered this spirit. The method of cure is to knead a ball of clay into the shape of a dog to be discarded by the sick man at a distant place.

8. The Headless Spirit. If a child cries without stop at the intersection of three roads, he must have seen a headless ghost. To stop the child crying, take a bowl of water, place a bamboo leaf in it, and leave it at the junction.

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9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

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(3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

776 796 house erected for the god for the special purpose of guarding the village gate, such as the Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god.

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

769 (6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

"Heavenly King" is a translation of Vang-
vai, the two words used as the name of the 773
Creator. In this legend it is very interesting 776
to note how clearly and simply they say "Heavenly King made heaven and earth." This is so different to the elaborate and confused cosmogeny of the Chinese as to compel the opinion that we have here a very old tradition, and one which they did not learn from the Chinese. The stanzas given above contain all that is said of the Heavenly King. In the rest of the poem, of more than a thousand lines, *Zie-ne* and others in turn come upon the scene and do things, but who these were, or if Zie-ne is another name for the Creator, we have not been able to discover. But we feel almost sure that Zie-ne is an earthly person and not the Heavenly King. There is a word *ne* of the same tone which means "land," generally "low-lying land." If it is the same word, then Zie-ne means "earthly Zie" and must be distinguished from "Heavenly Vang." Zie may merely be a name. In the legend of the Deluge, "Zie" or "A-Zie" is the only male survivor. "A" is a very common prefix to names and relationships.

In the Heh Miao metrical version of the 773
Flood, that catastrophy was in consequence of a quarrel between the two brothers A Fo and

The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about 774 the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains.

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory 775 of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being.

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of 776 mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves).

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

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551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo [754] ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

776 A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can
776 change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. After-
753 wards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes
755 into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

There are god-like beings that are believed in by the
776 Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njonŋ LΛu, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong LΛu with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SΛu or ʒ̊ei SΛu. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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Among the Ch'iang 羌 there is a mediator between A-ba-ch'i or the Father in Heaven and the priest, called Njei Dsu or Njei Su, which is much like the Nestorian word for Jesus. Rev. J. Huston Edgar told me that among the Tibetans there is a similar name for a similar being. The Ch'uan Miao name Yei Sʌu or ʒ̊ei Sʌu is not a great deal different from the Chinese name for Jesus, Yeh Su 耶穌. It is not impossible that the Njei Dsu or the Njei Su of the Ch'iang and the Yei Sʌu or ʒ̊ei Sʌu of the Ch'uan Miao may both be a dim and not too distinct tradition of Jesus that has come down from the distant past from the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Buddhists, or even the early Catholics. But the Ch'uan Miao had no idea of connecting the tradition of Yei Sʌu or ʒ̊ei Sʌu with Jesus until I suggested it to them. A slightly different pronunciation sometimes met among the Ch'uan Miao is ʒ̊ɛ Sʌu in which ʒ̊ɛ means an old man and Sʌu means an immortal.

It is asserted that formerly the dragon was fierce and ate people, but that now he is regarded as harmless and benevolent. This change is probably due to Chinese influence. The dragon king is often mentioned in the legends. He lives in a palace and is reached by going down through a pool of water. He causes it to rain. He often sends a daughter to help and save an unfortunate man, especially an orphan or a person who is very poor and she generally becomes his wife, at least temporarily.

There is a young woman who lives in the sky, who is called in Ch'uan Miao, Ts'ï Ma Niang Tsai. She is very compassionate and especially shows mercy to and helps unfortunate children.

The witch, Bo Ntsong, who has already been mentioned, changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself.

There is a warty toad, called in Chinese *lai ke pao* 癩格包 who causes hailstorms. People shoot off guns during hailstorms to scare the toad and cause it to cease, and this of course stops the hailstorms.

In some homes a family god symbolizes the ancestors. He is represented by some spirit money which the *tuan kung* 端公 pastes up in center of the rear of the main room, sprinkling some chicken blood on it. It is an imitation of the Chinese god or *chia shên* 家神 on which are inscribed the words *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih wei*, 天地君親師位.

The high respect in which the deceased ancestors are held has already been noted and the memorial services briefly described. The Ch'uan Miao assert that their departed ancestors are not gods but honored and loved human beings who are revered and to whom offerings are made.

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the
778 twelfth lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain
and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves
782 in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be
a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree
which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese
local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief
that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals
will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the
[755] killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness,
but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other
things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bottom of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must step over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon.
A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The
hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and
264 offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked.
Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with
262 a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided
and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and
eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

[585] During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally
made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to
776 the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as
deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly
782 three. glaŋ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers.
He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are
the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who
try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state.
Some say that dʒy means original and that glaŋ dʒy means
original demon.

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Glaŋ ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo glaŋ. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.

776 782 After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

791 The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭師 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao mo or to mo. To is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The mo is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies, At funerals he performs a special ceremony calld "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a k'a gei. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao To^{3} n ʌ n^{6} is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the mo, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

[787] By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

791 789 It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬腳 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs. 787

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm. 751

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *fêng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the mana and the wakanda conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Ntsɵ, ʈei SΛu, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntsoŋ, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc. 776 778

To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu shêng* 六牲, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves. 774

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XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntgʌu). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ^6 Ta·^{5} nTo^2). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ɛʌn^3 ŋga·^{2} (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ^6 so·^{6} (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ^6 Ta·^{5} (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ^6 nao^5 (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ^6 tg'ai^6 (hunger demons) or glaŋ^6 nk'ai^5 (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ^6 glei^5 (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ^6 sʌu^3 (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ^6 tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ^6 dza·^{5} la·^{5} (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ^6 ts'ʌu^5 (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ^6 ntgoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

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The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'ə gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

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First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

"ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε ɬʌu, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntsə's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

"ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε lʌu, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming", Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "ʒ̄ε nts'ai ʒ̄ε lʌu you are in Ntsə's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then evedybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ʒ̄ɛ nts'ai ʒ̄ɛ lʌu. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come?" (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lʌu, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lʌu gu· hnʌn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntgʌu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

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He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.
Now, ʓ̄ɛ nts'ai ʓ̄ɛ lʌu, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

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To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開張 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no· ʓ̄in (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xʌu lo· xai. (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo· Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ʓ̄ɛ gi· (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub 765 soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter.

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and 769 they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my 776 opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings.

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he 823 has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is.

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with 772 their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{3} Ti·^{8} lᴀu^{2} gᴀu^{1} bi^{8}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and [796] calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken.

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided 775 over by a demon king.

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul
776 is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang,* and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao.* When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao.* There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzĭ, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzĭ (or Ndgŭ) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒe Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'T^3 Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao,* which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan muh,* but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[12 cont.] After the Sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as
the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.)
Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
● [776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The
names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to
ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of
superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty,
foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to
Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching
the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind
and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted.
These preachers bought property where their congregation was the
largest and established schools with teachers instructing the people
in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the southwest
headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua
Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao
language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn
as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

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000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
766 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
164 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose
757 of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die
of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
774 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit.
776 The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[26 cont.]
774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost,
the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost,
the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts
the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the
most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic
environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primi-
tive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear
each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in
the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe
in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical
form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and
frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
777 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti
and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of
Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the
God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan
of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang
lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist
god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of
the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by
weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium,
who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among
the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and
socially it does not command any special respect and authority.
Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes
spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After
this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There
is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume
the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An
ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger
village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated
as follows:

755
756 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle
shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.)
After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench
is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often
covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served
to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of
death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared
have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In
the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even
practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The
769 ancestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a
small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from
time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder
("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the
spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving
the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The
seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that,
776 although they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

[168 cont.]

● 776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad
spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially
in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo"
as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
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775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See
note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests
are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the
curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation
are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year,
the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially
feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are
made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After
the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to
the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration
at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries
of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of
feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his
body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either
while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing
his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

524 The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post,
deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central
peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose
a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about
the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/33 cont./

A 597 A [435] Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M 608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is M [273] slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both go to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper M [776] [782] that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support M [428] [837] each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A 608 572 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends," without any special rights and duties.

/52 cont./
851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor ●[776] of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/89 cont./
A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a
European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees
several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where
they work and offer the stroller their smiles and . . . the rest. . . "

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet
at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at
night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
● [776 any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be
fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over
to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to
meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the
jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the
young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are
allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

[533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the
section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important
role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns
singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.
833 Gradually the music-makers pr[illegible]d to the sexual overtures,
which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners
stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs,
intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832] hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is
unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the
mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/155 cont./

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"Outside, on the open areas between the houses, the young people begin to assemble. They come hurrying from all directions, light-hearted from the good food and slightly intoxicated from considerable quantities of the rice liquor.

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"As we step into the open, the sun is already sinking, but after the gloom of the house we must close our eyes in the piercing light. Here and there mouth organs are heard; the young men practice a little, gather in a circle, and begin to play and to dance even here between the houses. It is amazing how they can maintain the melody during the difficult dance steps, the bending of the body, and the leaps. The girls stand around admiring them and are an appreciative audience for the dancing skill of their friends. Little boys join the young men and try to imitate the steps of the adults. Toward sundown it becomes quieter in the village. Gradually the gay young dancers disappear and move to the nearby dancing places, where the girls' dances now begin and with them the moonlight frolics of the Akha young people."

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Chapter 9
Religion and Magic

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The religion of the Meau is described by various authors as either a vague belief in spirits with a god of heaven as the chief spirit or, if it is more in harmony with an author's attitude and world view, as a monotheistic religion. Dhuraratsadorn (1), for

1. Page 172.

instance, speaks of "spirits of the clouds and ancestors." Lajonquière (2) reports: "The Meau vaguely worship a god of

2. II, p. 312.

the heavens, 'To,' and a god of the earth, 'Ang,' the spirits of the mountains, 'Sien-Chen,' the spirit of thunder, 'Lu-Chen,' the ancestors, 'Dang,' and the goddess, 'Kouan-Yin,' who blesses human beings and animals, but whose story they do not

/156 cont./
know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the
[114] same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no
religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities
just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do
not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled
with hatred against the human beings. They wander uncon-
cerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I,
too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great con-
trast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
[114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
[797] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of
heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

177 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
771 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
776 Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
[114] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course
[782] of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated.
Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
[775] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan,
the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the
dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

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3. Page 168.

4. II, p. 253.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/158 cont./

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The missionary Telford (1) calls the Akha "perhaps the

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most superstitious people in the state of Kengtung." According to our experience, the Akha, like all lower agriculturalists, have strong religious ties, but not nearly to the extent that the Meau have, in spite of the fact that the religion of the Akha, like that of the Meau, is definitely ancestor and spirit worship.

a) Ideas about Death and the Soul

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The Meau regard sickness as well as the activity of evil spirits as causes of death. In their view, it may happen that in clearing land for a new rice field a tree in which a spirit dwells may be felled. Now the latter is angry at the human being who robbed him of his dwelling and kills him. Even if one should visit a spot in the forest which happens to shelter a spirit the latter regards this as a disturbance and seeks revenge on the intruder. It is therefore not surprising that a female shaman whose three sons had been the victims of an epidemic became convinced that she had built her house on a spot inhabited by an evil spirit who had taken revenge for it.

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The Meau believe in an immortal soul, plī, which can have many shapes and leaves a sleeping human being in order to /159/ wander about invisibly. This causes dreams, for the experiences of the wandering soul become known to the sleeper in the dream. It generally returns to the body when the person awakens, but it may also happen that evil spirits hold the soul in captivity and prevent it from returning to the body. Then illness occurs, and if incantations are of no avail, death follows.

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Every person has a soul. If a person dies, his soul is reborn in the next child of the family or the sib. Souls have no sex, for it does not matter what sex the next child of the sib is; even distinguished men may thus be reborn in the body of a girl. Accordingly, there is no judgement of good and evil human beings in the other world; the soul has nothing to expect other than that it will be reborn as soon as a new child of the

Miao AE5

/161 cont./

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
[761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the
soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls
are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans,
as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode
other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm
of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are
not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead
person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacrifices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
775 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected,
● 776 so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen
825 that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed
there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil
spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil
spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for
people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the
track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four,
it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
[648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say
of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because
they belong to the same family and can transform themselves
into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
[763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
[777] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is
transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign,
probably of Laotian origin.

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1. II, p. 312.

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A 769 [773] As ancestors, the souls of the dead may be useful to human beings and are even especially revered as helpers. /164/ I could not find any confirmation for the idea reported by Telford (1) that the ancestors are also the creators of the world.

1. Page 98.

A [241] [782] The ancestors can have a special influence on the growth of field products, for which reason the Akha sacrifice a pig to them before laying out a new field and ask them to provide for the growth and increase of the crops.

A soul can thus act beneficially for the members, but it can be very unpleasant to strangers, especially if they are alone in the forest. Since, however, it cannot kill a person in any case, the soul is not too greatly feared even by strangers, in any case just as little as a corpse. Nevertheless some fear of the souls of the dead seems to be observable among the Akha of Kengtung, for Telford (2) reports: "Neglected souls return in the shape of

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A [775] [765] birds and insects in order to eat up the harvest and the livestock. Souls are never reborn in children. The Kaw serve a farewell feast of roasted meat at the grave. A small portion is offered to the corpse as one addresses it: 'You are dead. Do not love us. We do not love you, either. Do not return!'"

A 775 774 The conception of a paradise or of a judgment of the dead and his soul is as unfamiliar to the Akha as that of the rebirth, not only of human beings, but also of animals or plants. According to the view of the Akha, the latter are soulless, whereas my informants thought it possible that the stars have souls. I was also told, however, that nothing definite is known about this.

b) Deities and Spirits

M ● 776 According to the conceptions of the Meau, there are supernatural beings. These spirits do not roam about freely, but live in large trees or rocks and especially like caves, but never live in entire mountain ranges, rivers, or brooks; rice fields and

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776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and
Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations,
there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits,
that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded
as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather,
each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a
spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents
his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially
unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes
angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only
through this is the originally neutral spirit, klan̊ yun, transformed
into an evil one, which is then called nyǒhn̊. In such
[782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended
[756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help
of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in
the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence
of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its
transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can
only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are
male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human
beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and
other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of
[241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these
[782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the
help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked
to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products,
for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be
[177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese
and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others
to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed.
[726] Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One
turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired.
[326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./
326 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pắn, which literally
776 means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ
pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and
to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated.
Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the
Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills.
These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths
[782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe
that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work
at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three
spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pắn and
his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that
it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the
smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work
is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that
there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many
Meau smiths and dă lŭ pắn with his two assistant spirits lives in
the house of every one of them.

756 The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn
776 sŭ fŭ́. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant
[782] spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his
house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense
candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ.
They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fŭ yế,
lŭ fŭ yế, and săn fŭ yế.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do
not know how many of them, who are called sĕn šĕn, there are.
In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she
had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason
[782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which
she regularly offered sacrifices to the sĕn šĕn. This woman
[212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy
it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among
itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper
fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable
to explain to me.

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tă hǫ̌ lǔ pī́n. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1) reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

Page 133.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: mę yéṅ.

[778] [756] The spirit sǔ kǎ́n is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese [177] [829] influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

II. p. 313.

/167 cont./
776 know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither
[829] fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient
times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought
[773] them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho
lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they
owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created
776 by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends
of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his
playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The
adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which
guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become
a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so
[775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of
the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits.
In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed
manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter
and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown
animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the
guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown
watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young
dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it
struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a
[782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation
of a guardian spirit.

[1] [See cat. 116, p666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here [731] the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a [789] guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is [243] followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764 775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the [114 773] Meau, who call him nǎ thu pen dǫ nǎ thu /169/ pę̌ dǒ. Savina (1) gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for in- [931 825 224] stance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821 626] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

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1. II, p. 243.

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/169 cont:/

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

821 [626] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ǎdŏdǔchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly,

A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

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1. Page 98.

such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with

A [773] these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the spirit "yăbĭdḝlăhăt," who created the universe. In any case, 39: Bernatzik--239 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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/17[illegible] cont./

756 [787] and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful. [554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the invidual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] [554] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones. Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). [302] The female shamans are recognizable only by their hair style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

[292] The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 756 787 [782] [776] [801] If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-spirit of all the shamans, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tă fŭ yĕ́, lŭ fŭ yĕ, and săn fŭ yĕ́. The teacher-spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau. Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/186 cont./

755 On the day immediately following the conjuration described,
I experienced another instance of the assistance of the shaman in
789 cases of illness. This concerned the sick woman who /187/ had
asked the shaman for his help during the conjuration of the soul
of Lü, and therefore it was not a matter of a sacrifice satisfactory
to the spirits, but rather the exorcisism of the evil spirit from
the house afflicted by sickness, and the creation of a guardian
[776] spirit such as has already been discussed (see the section, "Deities
and Spirits," in this chapter).

[787] At this spirit-exorcism the beginning of the ceremony was
identical with the one of the previous day. While the shaman was
in an hour-long trance, the sick woman stood behind him on two
spirit-papers, and the chief again burned spirit-money, drew the
dividing lines on the ground with the sword, spat water in all
directions, and scattered the maize kernels. Suddenly the shaman
stopped his twitching and rhythmical movements; his rattling
sounds ceased. We learned that the spirit had become too tired
[787] to answer and that he would have to be re-awakened. For this
purpose the head of the house stepped up to the shaman and
struck him on the shoulder. Once more the monotonous conjuration formulas and the twitching of the shaman began. In the
meantime, the head of the house tied a string to the young dog
to be sacrificed. Then the shaman lighted a straw torch, threw
gunpowder into the flames so that they flared up hissingly, spoke
accompanying words of conjuration, and walked around the sick
woman a few times with the burning torch. He was preceded by the
man with the young dog, and at his side walked a young man
carrying the gunpowder in an inverted bronze gong. This small
procession stepped out of the door and walked around the house
several times, while from time to time the shaman threw the
proffered gunpowder into the torch (Ill. 102),[1] spat in all directions,
murmured prayers, and, whenever the flame hissed up, shouted:
"Off with you, evil spirit!" Smoke and stench enveloped the
house, which, evidently, was supposed to drive away the evil
spirit. The sacrificial animal, however, was led around the
house so that the guardian spirit would recognize the area it was
to watch. The procession came to a halt. In front of the

[1] [See cat 116, p704 - ANALYST]

/187 cont./

755 789 entrance to the house the shaman cut the throat of the young dog (Ill. 101)[1] and caught the blood in leaves. With the blood he then drew a cross on the backs of the head of the household and each of the other members and smeared some blood on the door posts. [787] /188/ Finally, he once more threw the oracle horns and burned a quantity of spirit-money as a sacrifice.

756 787 [776] On another occasion we were able to observe the activity of a female shaman. This involved the invocation of the Father-Mother spirit, who, as soon as the rice is ripe, according to the Meau, moves away in order to be ready for the New Year's festival. Now this spirit had supposedly returned and would be asked by the female shaman to bring blessings to the occupants of the house. Outwardly there is little difference from the activity of a male shaman. It was striking to us that the female shaman used not two, but four oracle horns. At this ceremony, too, there was a struggle with evil spirits. Whenever the female shaman in her exertions jumped upon the bench to indicate that an evil spirit was present, the head of the household scattered maize and his wife spat water in the four directions. Despite the fact that everything was carefully observed and care was taken to scatter the kernels and spit out the water in the prescribed way, the evil spirit would not yield. Finally, the head of the household seized the spirit-sword hanging on the wall by the altar and stuck it into the ground in front of the altar. The female shaman had actually fallen into a deep trance and had to be awakened very laboriously by being pounded on the back by the head of the household after the conjuration was over.

756 789 Besides this kind of activity, obviously recognizable as a priestly performance, there falls to the shaman, but not exclusively to him alone, the making of spirit-paper (Ill. 84, 85)[2] and thus spirit-money. Moreover, the shaman is obliged to make certain amulets and talismans, although many other Meau know how to make various such means of protection against the evil spirits. The ingredients are obtained from flowers and plants. Small triangular cloth bags are filled with the mixture. Such amulets are worn on a string around the neck or attached to the silver neck-ring itself.

[1] [See Cat 116, p666 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", p598 - "]

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/188 cont./

789 Since there is an inclination to trace sicknesses back to
the influence of evil spirits, all the means used against them
[753] are also used in the fight against sickness. As has been described
in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming
and Admission into the Family Community," for protection
against /189/ sickness, strings are tied around the children's
wrists, and metal rings can also be used for this. The effectiveness of many amulets pertains at any given time to a certain
spirit, but magical agents with a polyvalent effect, so to speak,
are also made. Such magical agents are brewed out of the most
effective substances known against certain individual spirits and
therefore have a general effect. For instance, one takes the root
[824] of a certain kind of mimosa and adds arrow poison, pandanus
leaves, and the root of a certain plant cultivated for this purpose
in the rice fields, but whose name I could not discover. Since
each of these agents is in itself protection against certain spirits,
the effect of the mixture, according to the conception of the
Meau, is comprehensive.

[823] Besides such vegetable protective agents, copper plays a
special role among the metals in the making of such agents, since
magical properties are attributed to it. Objects made of this
[301] metal, such as rings for the neck, arms, or legs, are supposed to
protect one against evil spirits. It is therefore primarily the
children who are provided with such magical ornaments by their
worried parents.

[756] The shamans, too, usually make their amulets out of the
substances named and sell them at a small price. The view is
not, however, that spirits are conjured into such amulets, but
only that these amulets are protection against evil spirits. There
[776] is, for instance, no spirit of arrow poison, of mimosa, or of the
other substances mentioned; they merely have a warding-off and
thus protective effect. Savina (1), too, mentions the amulets
[714]

1. II, p. 257.

and reports that in time of war some that are supposed to make
warriors invulnerable are made.

/189 cont./

787 The Meau ascribe extraordinary importance to various
[756] omens, whose number is almost legion. There are many omens
that only the shaman knows how to interpret, while a great number
is known to every Meau and he can interpret them himself
and act accordingly. For example a field is abandoned if bad
[241] omens appear, an /190/ accident occurs, or the crop fails,
since one concludes from this that evil spirits are in it.

243 When a rice field is laid out, a person must be specially
careful, and he does not by any means limit himself to the
787 sacrificial festivals for the protective spirits described above,
since the welfare of a Meau community depends upon the yield
from the fields. The Meau live on the field products and the
[433] booty from hunting; their dwellings and villages stand in the
midst of forest areas. Hence it is not surprising that the behavior
and the presence or the absence of various animals are believed
[825] to be omens. In the search for a suitable location no muntjac may
be seen or heard. If this obstacle is met successfully, it may
still happen that when the first tree is felled, a turtle or a snake
appears. In that case only swift flight can save one, for it means
●[776] that the dwelling of a spirit has been destroyed.

342 The omens which have to be heeded when a house is built
787 are equally numerous. One may neither see a snake nor hear the
"shriek" of a muntjac. Even the cry of a black squirrel is a bad
825 omen. If none of these bad omens were noticed and if no bird
dropped his excrement on the site chosen, the house and its occupants
will be blessed.

224 In view of all this, it is self-evident that the Meau hunters,
787 too, have absolute faith in the omens with which they are
familiar. If one sets out to hunt and sees a snake or a muntjac,
825 the undertaking is immediately called off. If one nevertheless
wanted to proceed to hunt, he must expect to be killed by a
wounded buffalo or elephant.

The muntjac plays an important and always unfavorable
role. Merely its "shriek" is enough; the hunter who hears it believes
that he cannot expect to bag any game.

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/201 cont./

A 787 825 "Before a Kaw builds his house, he throws an egg into the air and observes where it falls. He builds his house on this spot. When it is finished, the Kaw scrutinizes the liver of a pig." The same author (4) also made the following observation:

A 313 824

4. Page 114.

789 "When the Kaw have felled a tree, they put a stone on the stump; evidently, they thereby want to relieve themselves of responsibility; the tree spirit should now molest the stone and not the people."

d) Cult and Taboo

M 782 776 Among the Meau, the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, the various teacher-spirits and their assistant spirits, the good spirits in general, as well as the ancestors, have cultic connections. On the other hand, no regular cult is devoted to the evil spirits. M [755] Sacrifices are offered to them only occasionally, chiefly in case of sickness or if one cannot avoid approaching their abodes, for instance, in the jungle.

Sacrifices are offered in order to make the ancestors and the good spirits favorably disposed. For protection against the harmful deeds of the evil spirits, one turns to the good spirit /202/ /Figs. 41-52 appear here/ /203/ whose sphere of interest he fears is being invaded by the evil spirits. If some damage was done to the fields, for instance, one would not turn to the teacher-spirits or the assistant spirits of the smithy.

M 776 789 [778] One tries to protect himself beforehand against the influence of evil spirits through the use of amulets. Among these there are the spirit-swords, carved out of wood, which, provided with simple line drawings made with charcoal, are hung over the entrance of every house in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits (Figs. 53 and 54).[1] M [782] [756] If in spite of all these precautionary measures evil spirits have entered, sacrifices are offered to them, but in addition one tries to exorcise them through the mediation of the shaman with the assistance of the good spirits.

[1] [See cat 116, p 287- ANALYST]

/203 cont./

782 One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer.
which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats
[516] or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the
palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one
looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction;
when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one
looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position
[788] and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his
756 wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses
with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special
787] spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

788 The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the
person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person
lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman
his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pro-
[516] nouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described,
stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and
then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-
Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the
protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the
undertaking.

769 As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship
● 776 which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are
dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the
782 spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected
[778] for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against
the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain
to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit
in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in
order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would
not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to
help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of
the evil spirit.

778 Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship
776 and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom
[782] he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices reg-
ularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/204 cont./

778 776 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 782 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too [796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 [114] These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II. p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times, [782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 782 243 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens, which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 796 [769] The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance. On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70),[1] flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not

[184] 1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

[1] [see cat 116, p512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
[782] voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
[769] munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
[526] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer
[241] has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
782 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and
796 in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt,
housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)
has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
231 The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce
[776] to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the under-
taking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

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1. Page 244.

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

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/209 cont./

484 782 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invocations. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 782 114 261 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moderate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-

1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly observed among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples. Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings, are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau [796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house, as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time [776 241] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the

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796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[776] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[241] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."
[527] Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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796 1. II. p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice
to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors,
offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper.
On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and
collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sow-
ing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by
offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."
In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that
Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,
[177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and
incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are
made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

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/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse
meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
825 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
123 name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children,
I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
[626] punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

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1. II, p. 303.

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

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cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II. p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

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[513]
"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

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As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

/528 cont./

000 medicine that have to be overcome, it should be relatively easy to fight epidemics successfully, especially since almost all the diseases concerned offer no difficult problems for modern European medicine. The readiness to submit to European doctors is also stressed in the literature. Abadie, for instance, states(1):

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1. Page 159.

"The Meau prize the free, expert medical treatment which the French doctors give them, with the assistance of native medical helpers, on their circuits among them."

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With the help of well-chosen doctors, it will be possible to influence the beliefs and also to exert a decisive influence upon the shamans, for, in the eyes of the mountain peoples, the ability to cure diseases is equivalent to visible mastery over the evil spirits that call forth these diseases. Most of the shamans by far want only the best for the people for whom they feel responsible. It will therefore not be difficult to persuade them to intercede against moving the villages, if they are convinced that this would be to the advantage of their community.

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[123]

The following event proved to me that in this respect natives whose trust has been won are easily influenced: One day, a Meau chief, in whose village I had stayed for some time, came to me in order to tell me that he and his fellows had become convinced by my many successful cures that my spirits were more powerful than their own. He therefore requested me to ask my spirits whether and when he should move the village. If my spirits approved, he would prefer not to change his residence during his lifetime.

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The Thailand doctors and their medical helpers would have to gain the confidence of the mountain peoples. Since the Thailand national character is distinguished by tact and sympathy, the right path will soon be taken automatically. Nevertheless it is important to point out that in the medical treatment of the natives, the /529/ shamans and chiefs of the mountain peoples must always be enlisted. Usually these village authorities will let themselves be properly taught and

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They be-
●776 lieve that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the
789 other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the
[775] one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a new-
born dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the
house against sickness and evil spirits.

756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right)
789 and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch,
into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the
assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the
stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.

231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from
782 the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value
of the animal under the snout of the animal.

Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the
243 typical Meau carrier.
482 /X/

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors
342 made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand
[415] long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed
out, which serve as water containers.

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of
[264] the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the
background on the right, the mud hearth with the
[354] Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along
the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.

622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at meal-
[264] time. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from
that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance
[352] to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps.
In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the
left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen
utensils are hanging on the house wall.